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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 19 December 1990, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. PEERTHUM (Mauritius)
(Vice-President)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa (continued) [34]

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

  (c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

  (d) Reports of the Secretary-General

  (e) Report of the Special Political Committee

  (f) Draft resolutions

  (g) Report of the Fifth Committee

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- Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations (continued) [117]

  (a) Report of the Secretary-General

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- Critical economic situation in Africa (continued) [152]

  (a) Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the report of the United Nations Secretary-General's Expert Group on African Commodity Problems

  (b) Draft resolutions

  (c) Report of the Fifth Committee

- Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [40]

- Programme of work

In the absence of the President, Mr. Peerthum (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/45/22 and Add.1)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/45/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/45/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/162, A/45/539, A/45/550, A/45/637, A/45/670)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/45/815)

(f) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/45/L.31, A/45/L.32, A/45/L.33, A/45/L.38, A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, A/45/L.41, A/45/L.42)

(g) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/45/871)

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it eight draft resolutions, issued as documents A/45/L.31, A/45/L.32, A/45/L.33, A/45/L.38, A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, A/45/L.41 and A/45/L.42, which were introduced yesterday afternoon.

I shall first call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on any or all of the draft resolutions. I should like to recall that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): The 12 member States of the European Community, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, have reaffirmed during the debate their strong commitment to the abolition of apartheid by peaceful means and without delay. They are glad that, as a result of consultations among various groups and of the commendable efforts of co-ordination by the Chairman of the Special

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

Committee against Apartheid, draft resolution A/45/L.38, entitled "International efforts to eradicate apartheid", is one that can be adopted by consensus by the General Assembly. The Twelve will join such consensus.

They consider it important that the unity of purpose on key issues, manifested in the Declaration of last December and in the resolution on its implementation adopted last September, be continued on this draft resolution today, and that the General Assembly can thus send, with a unanimous voice, a message to South Africa on the need to move ahead without delay in the process towards the total and final elimination of apartheid. The Twelve welcome the wider consultations on other texts that have resulted in improvements on some points.

The other draft resolutions before us express many concepts that the Twelve share, but some of those draft resolutions do not reflect adequately the changes that are taking place in South Africa and contain language that raises objections. The Twelve have objections in particular to the sixth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution contained in document A/45/L.39, and to operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution contained in document A/45/L.40. The Twelve also have reservations on paragraphs that do not respect the division of powers between the General Assembly and the Security Council. They would also stress the need to take into account the autonomy and statute of the international financial institutions. As stated repeatedly in the past, the Twelve object to selective criticism of Member States mentioned by name.

The Twelve remain faithful to the Olympic ideal and reject any form of apartheid in sports. In their respective countries, the organization of sports meetings comes within the sphere of private initiative. The national sports organizations are well aware of the opposition of their Governments to competitions that violate the Olympic ideal.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

For the reasons that I have just stated, the Twelve will not be able to vote in favour of all the draft resolutions submitted today. They nevertheless remain firmly committed to act, collectively and individually, to foster the process under way towards the final dismantling of apartheid and to support the cause of a peaceful transition to a free, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa. In that spirit, on 15 December the European Counil took decisions - announced in a statement that the Twelve are asking to be circulated as a United Nations document - in the field of restrictive and positive measures towards South Africa in order to encourage the process under way. The Twelve will keep the matter under review in the light of changes in South Africa.

Mr. PHOOFOLO (Lesotho): The principled position of the Kingdom of Lesotho against apartheid is a matter of common knowledge. We continue to support all positive efforts aimed at the eradication of apartheid. We have always maintained that our sense of commitment to the eradication of apartheid, coupled with frustration in the face of the realities of Lesotho's geo-political situation, serves only to commit us more deeply to the cause of the majority in South Africa, our neighbours and friends.

Some of the draft resolutions before us shall, we hope, bring true peace and genuine security to all the enlightened people of southern Africa, and of South Africa in particular. We see some of the draft resolutions acknowledging noticeable changes in the unfolding political landscape in South Africa. There continues to be a sense of realism and positiveness in them.

My delegation will be participating in the voting exercise with regard to the draft resolutions before the Assembly, conscious of our longstanding commitment to the eradication of apartheid and bearing in mind our collective responsibility in that direction.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

As a peace-loving country, the Kingdom of Lesotho has steadfastly advocated dialogue among all parties to the South African problem. Thus, we did not hesitate to welcome the ongoing talks between the African National Congress and the South African Government aimed at setting the stage for negotiations on a new Constitution that shall, we hope, usher in a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It is within that spirit that we continue to urge our brothers and sisters in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to continue considering positive participation in talks leading to the negotiation of a new South Africa.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

We regret the manner in which the leadership left South Africa after the recent national conference there.

My delegation will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions save draft resolution A/45/L.31 and A/45/L.42. That affirmative vote should be viewed as an expression of the long-standing policy of the Government of Lesotho to participate constructively in the international effort to eradicate apartheid, which is now also, inter alia, being publicly rejected by the National Party leadership in South Africa.

However, as we have stated in the past, and as we continue to state, our affirmative vote should not be construed as implying that my delegation supports any punitive measures, which we have no means or ability to mount or to enforce. We thus enter our reservations with regard to all paragraphs whose import is the application of economic and financial sanctions, particularly in draft resolution A/45/L.39.

We look forward to the speedy solution of the problem of apartheid through genuine and meaningful negotiations early in the new year in order to ensure the readmission of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in our midst.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom associates itself completely with the statement made a few moments ago by the Permanent Representative of Italy on behalf of the twelve States members of the European Community. I should like to add a few words of explanation on a national basis about the votes my delegation will cast.

We shall join the consensus on draft resolution A/45/L.38, which reflects the unanimous view of the Assembly that apartheid must go and must be replaced by a new, democratic South Africa. The fact that we are joining the consensus does not mean that we like every element of the draft resolution or that we are happy with its overall balance. We find it grudging in its recognition that important

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

progress has been made to prepare the way for negotiations. Rather than encouraging the leaders of the black and white communities in South Africa in their endeavours, the draft resolution dwells too much on negative points, and does so in an unbalanced way.

The causes of violence in South Africa, for example, are, as we all know, much more complex than the one-sided language of the draft resolution suggests. The Government of South Africa has prime responsibility to maintain law and order impartially and to protect its citizens. But this task cannot be laid on it alone. Leaders of all political groups have a responsibility to urge their followers to tolerate contrary political opinion and to settle differences peacefully, without violence or intimidation. We are disappointed, also, that the draft resolution does not refer to the Government of South Africa as a government, as Mr. Mandela himself referred to it when he spoke in this Assembly Hall last June.

The United Kingdom does not believe that now is the time to be calling for more sanctions against South Africa. South Africa faces serious economic problems. Zero growth, a rapidly increasing population, mounting unemployment, homelessness and poor education are major problems in themselves. They are also a threat to a peaceful political settlement in South Africa. We cannot wait for a new constitution to be agreed before we address South Africa's economic difficulties. Far from seeking to intensify sanctions, the international community, and the United Nations in particular, should be looking at ways of reviving the South African economy. We believe that there is an urgent need, now, for new investment to create jobs and to address the problems of black housing and education.

It is in this light that we interpret operative paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/45/L.38. We do not consider that any provision of that draft

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

resolution prevents Member States from taking their own decisions on how best to maintain the pressure for change in South Africa. As reflected in the European Community decisions last weekend, the right mix of positive and restrictive measures will entail the gradual relaxation of pressure in response to changes in South Africa.

We shall vote against draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, because it is fundamentally at odds with our views on sanctions as I have just described them. We shall also vote against draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1 because, although we support the arms embargo and implement it scrupulously, we do not agree that it should be intensified and extended to cover new areas. It is already working well, and now is not the time to call for any new sanctions.

My delegation will, as we did last year in regard to a similar draft resolution, abstain on draft resolution A/45/L.33, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, even though we do not agree with elements of the Committee's report. The appropriation of a sum of money for unspecified activities is incompatible with the principles of programme budgeting. We also note that the sum concerned is substantially larger than it was last year.

Finally, my delegation will join the consensus on draft resolution A/45/L.32, which concerns the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. We are, however, surprised by the reference to the large number of political trials in 1990. This takes no account of the fact that since the adoption of the Pretoria Minute on 6 August, indemnity from prosecution has been available for anyone accused of a politically motivated offence.

Mr. DA COSTA PEREIRA (Portugal): The Permanent Representative of Italy has already expressed the common views of the 12 States members of the European

(Mr. Da Costa Pereira, Portugal)

Community on the draft resolutions before the Assembly. It goes without saying that my delegation fully subscribes to that statement.

On many occasions Portugal has expressed the conviction that the apartheid system constitutes a violation of the most basic human rights and of human dignity, and must be dismantled through peaceful means as soon as possible in order to create a full democracy on a non-racial basis. As the Prime Minister of Portugal stated during the general debate:

> "We are ... following with interest the political and social developments in the Republic of South Africa, which is home to a significant Portugese community. My Government supports the efforts by President De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and other South African leaders towards the attainment, through dialogue, of constitutional solutions guaranteeing respect for the fundamental rights and liberties of all South Africans. Only dialogue will bring about the abolition of apartheid, the democratization of South African society and the access of all to the benefits of progress." (A/45/PV.8, pp. 51 and 52)

Portugal is in favour of the substance of most of the principles contained in the draft resolutions before the Assembly. But some of those draft resolutions do not reflect adequately the positive changes that are taking place in South Africa, and use language that we have difficulty in accepting. We are pleased to join the consensus on draft resolution A/45/L.38, entitled "International efforts to eradicate apartheid", in spite of some reservations, namely, with regard to operative paragraphs 11 and 12. My delegation considers that no provision in this text should be interpreted as preventing Member States from relaxing measures against South Africa when they deem this to be appropriate in order to respond to profound and irreversible changes in that country.

(Mr. Da Costa Pereira, Portugal)

Portugal does not believe that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions aimed at the isolation of South Africa, including provisions to sever direct air, sea and other transportation links with that country - provisions contained in draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 - and references to Chapter VII of the Charter will help our common and fundamental objective: the eradication of apartheid through constructive dialogue and negotiations.

At this critical stage of the process now under way, the international community and the United Nations must encourage all parties involved to create the conditions from which, in the near future, a free and democratic society may emerge in South Africa.

Mr. De La SABLIERE (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation fully agrees of course with the statement just made on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community by the Permanent Representative of Italy, both in the general debate on item 34 and in explanation of vote.

For the first time since the hateful system of apartheid was established, the international community now has reason to hope that the régime of racial segregation, which France condemns most vigorously, will soon come to an end in South Africa.

We owe this hope above all to the courage and determination of Mr. Nelson Mandela - whose release my country welcomed with great joy after his many years of detention - as well as to the African National Congress (ANC) and to the positive changes and efforts in the Government of Mr. Frederik de Klerk. Already, as many speakers have pointed out, consultations under way among these parties have yielded very encouraging initial results.

(Mr. De La Sablière, France)

Nevertheless, nothing can be taken for granted. A great deal must be accomplished before all the inhabitants of South Africa can enjoy the same rights in their own country. France, which has constantly tried to ensure practical implementation of its unconditional condemnation of apartheid - both nationally and multilaterally - believes that the international community should try to keep step with developments without relaxing its vigilance. It is up to the General Assembly, which is now considering the draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item, to help in this endeavour.

In this connection, my delegation warmly welcomes the fact that the major draft on international efforts to eliminate apartheid can be adopted by consensus. This was the case a year ago when the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session, on apartheid and its harmful consequences in Southern Africa, endorsed the Declaration, the text of which remains the reference point in this regard. It is striking that one year later, the Assembly has maintained its common approach, which is to convey to the South African authorities a threefold message: first, its satisfaction over the positive developments under way; secondly, its regret regarding the delays that have taken place; and, finally, continued international mobilization until the far-reaching and irreversible changes for which we are urgently striving take place.

However, the French delegation must express its regret at the fact that other texts submitted today do not benefit from the same spirit of co-operation and unity. In particular, without going into detail on some of the comments made on behalf of the Twelve, I would point out that France regrets that it will be compelled to vote against draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, on concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid, since this text still advocates a régime of general sanctions which we feel is ill-adapted to the current situation.

(Mr. De La Sablière, France)

My delegation - which, as is well known, is against name-calling - will also vote against draft resolution A/45/L.41, on relations between South Africa and Israel.

As regards draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, on military collaboration with South Africa, we welcome the fact that there is no mention of countries by name - a fact which led us to vote against the text last year. However, France will abstain in the vote on this draft because of its reservations on preambular paragraph 7 and operative paragraphs 2 and 3.

Recent experience has demonstrated that when the United Nations manages to obtain a consensus on the way it should fight against apartheid, its appeals are more forceful and have greater scope. Therefore my delegation hopes that in future all of our work on this issue might be conducted in the same spirit. In that way, our Organization might play fully the pre-eminent role it has in the developments under way towards the final elimination of apartheid.

Mr. GREEN (Canada): Canada is particularly pleased to join the consensus on the omnibus draft resolution contained in document A/45/L.38. We recognize and appreciate the genuine efforts at accommodation that have been made by all sides. While success was by no means assured, the result of such perseverance is indeed a worthy successor to the Declaration on apartheid adopted a year ago and to resolution 44/244 adopted last September.

At the same time, I should like to clarify Canada's interpretation of three paragraphs of draft resolution A/45/L.38. The open-ended language of operative paragraph 11 does not alter, in our view, the Declaration's call to maintain existing measures until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change in South Africa. We do not consider that operative paragraph 12 implies new measures or that operative paragraph 16 requires direct assistance to foreign

(Mr. Green, Canada)

political organizations, which is contrary to the principles outlined in resolution 44/147 and the long-standing practice of my country.

On the basis of the initial drafts, Canada had hoped to support the resolutions on concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid - A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 - and on military collaboration with South Africa - A/45/L.40 and Corr.1. We have implemented and continue to maintain more than 30 United Nations and Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa, including virtually all of those listed in operative paragraph 3 of A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 and we are persuaded of their effectiveness.

We have strongly supported the arms embargo since even before it was made mandatory and we have worked energetically to maintain its effectiveness while on the Security Council over the last two years.

In the course of negotiations on the texts of draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1 and, particularly, of draft resolutions A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, we were pleased that there were several improvements in their language and that real efforts had been made to improve the texts so that a consensus might be possible. Unfortunately, these improvements do not go far enough to allow us to support them and it is thus with regret that we are obliged to abstain on both texts.

At a time when Oliver Tambo is calling on the African National Congress (ANC) to review the issue of sanctions, we consider it counter-productive for the United Nations to call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and to criticize any continued economic relations with South Africa.

While we agree that it would be premature for the international financial institutions to lend to South Africa now, we also endorse the Commonwealth call, recently re-confirmed, for those institutions to plan resource mobilization for a post-apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Green, Canada)

Despite the welcome removal of some gratuitous name-calling, the cause of the arms embargo is not served by several distortions in the draft resolution. The information we have obtained through our work on the Committee established under Security Council resolution 421 (1977) does not support the claim that violations, while deplorable, are increasing. There is no point in seeking to prohibit the supply of certain items not included in the arms embargo while ignoring the provisions of Security Council resolution 591 (1986). More surprisingly, there is no basis for the claim that the production and testing of nuclear missiles is continuing and no mention of the current opportunity to complete the long-sought denuclearization of Africa through sequential accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Canada continues to support draft resolution A/45/L.33 on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid because we support much of what the Committee does. At the same time, I must clarify our understanding that by operative paragraph 2 the Assembly would endorse those recommendations relating to the work programme and only those recommendations. We are pleased to see the Committee devoting more attention to the important developments taking place inside South Africa and we hope that it will be able to undertake its planned mission to South Africa, as was the case with the Secretariat team last June, and in the same open-minded spirit.

Draft resolution A/45/L.41, on relations between South Africa and Israel, really has no place under this agenda item and Canada opposes it for reasons that are well known.

Canada is with some regret unable to support the improved draft resolution on the oil embargo. Our voluntary embargo on the supply of oil is effective and we are open to continued international co-operation. None the less as a Security Council member we have reservations on the action that body is urged to take.

(Mr. Green, Canada)

In addition, a strengthened embargo on both supply and shipping raises the problem of extraterritoriality of laws, an issue of long-standing concern and particular sensivity for my country.

Once again, Canada is proud to have been a sponsor of draft resolution A/45/L.32, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. In addition to the Fund itself, may I note Canada's substantial direct support for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), the Union Movement and lawyers' groups for human rights, as envisaged in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

Finally, on draft resolution A/45/L.42, dealing with apartheid in sport, Canada is obliged to abstain in the voting on that draft resolution. We have difficulty ratifying the United Nations International Convention on this subject, given our legal, constitutional and human rights framework. Moreover, we do not agree with the principle of secondary boycotts, and we thus cannot support the United Nations Register of Sports Contacts. Our objective remains the earliest possible introduction of unified, non-racial sport in South Africa, heralding its return to the international arena.

We must all do our part to encourage peaceful change in South Africa. The debate and the draft resolutions are, taken together, a clear message to the Government of South Africa that it must take further action. That Government itself knows very well what it has to do. Let us hope that Pretoria can find the courage and wisdom to sustain the encouraging momentum of the past year. Let us also be ready, while maintaining effective pressure, to recognize progress when it comes and to assist in overcoming difficulties when this would be appropriate. As our Prime Minister has said in this Assembly, there can be no doubt that fundamental change will come to South Africa. The only questions are when and how, and at what cost in human life. We must make sure the answers are "Soon" and "Peacefully".

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly that the Islamic Republic of Iran has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/45/L.41 and that Somalia has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/45/L.32.

The Assembly will now take decisions on the eight draft resolutions before it. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolutions has been issued as document A/45/871.

The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.38, entitled "International efforts to eradicate apartheid." May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt this draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/45/L.38 was adopted (resolution 45/176 A).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, entitled "Concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid."

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Malawi, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden

Draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 was adopted by 115 votes to 11, with 19 abstentions (resolution 45/176 B).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will next take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, entitled "Military collaboration with South Africa."

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland,

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden

Draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1 was adopted by 116 votes to 2, with 29 abstentions (resolution 45/176 C).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will next take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.41, entitled "Relations between South Africa and Israel". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Bahamas, Belize, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Grenada, Honduras, Japan, Kenya, Malawi, Malta, Myanmar, Nepal, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/45/L.41 was adopted by 99 votes to 28, with 19 abstentions (resolution 45/176 D).*

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution A/45/L.33, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid." A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/45/L.33 was adopted by 133 votes to none, with 14 abstentions (resolution 45/176 E).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will next take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.31, entitled "Oil embargo against South Africa." A recorded vote has been requested.

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Swaziland

Draft resolution A/45/L.31 was adopted by 125 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions (resolution 45/176 F).*

The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/45/L.42, entitled "Support for the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports." A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia,

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/45/L.42 was adopted by 113 votes to 1, with 26 abstentions (resolution 45/176 G).*

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: We turn finally to draft resolution A/45/L.32, entitled "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa". May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/45/L.32 was adopted (resolution 45/176H).

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote after the voting, I remind delegations that, in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. NELSON (United States of America): As was stated earlier this month in the General Assembly's debate on apartheid, the United States firmly holds the conviction that the system of apartheid in South Africa must be dismantled and that in its place must be erected a democratic, non-racial society and government. We believe the steps taken in the past year by President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela to establish a process of peaceful change and create a climate conducive to negotiation represent significant progress in building the new South Africa we all want to see accomplished.

We believe that process is irreversible. While much remains to be done - and there will be set-backs along the way - the changes in South Africa already have been profound. We must encourage the ongoing process of change and negotiation until the work in South Africa is finished and the people of South Africa have realized the dream they have pursued through many years of hardship and trial.

The United Nations can take pride in the role it has played over the past year in helping promote the process of peaceful change now under way. The omnibus resolution on apartheid just adopted is the most recent of several consensus decisions reached following the adoption last December of the landmark Declaration on Apartheid.

(Mr. Nelson, United States)

Earlier this month in this forum we stated that it was the responsibility of the international community to keep abreast of developments in South Africa and to be prepared to modify its approach if events should warrant a change. We emphasized our view that it was appropriate for members of the international community to take steps to recognize and encourage the process of change as it proceeded. We made clear that we would not join consensus on any draft resolution that was not constructive.

We believe the omnibus resolution just adopted is adequate to meet the concerns we had set forth. It represents an important step by the General Assembly towards achieving the flexibility the outside world needs to exhibit if it expects to keep up with the pace of change in South Africa and to foster sustained momentum. The resolution does not satisfy all the wishes of many, including the United States, who have negotiated its provisions. It is an imperfect document. Nevertheless, it recognizes the magnitude of the changes that have taken place, articulates clearly the need for redoubled effort on all sides and encourages continuing dedication to the development of non-racial democracy in South Africa. I should like to commend all those who helped draft the resolution. I should like to express particular admiration for the patience and skill with which the chairman of the negotiating group, His Excellency the Ambassador of Nigeria, guided the text to its final form.

We shall be watching with keen interest the negotiations that must occur in the coming months between the South African Government and anti-apartheid leaders. We believe the efforts of the United Nations will encourage the peaceful process of change, and we fervently hope that in the not too distant future apartheid will no longer be a topic for debate in this forum.

(Mr. Nelson, United States)

In addition, regarding the resolution on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, we do not agree with the assertion in the preambular part that there have been a

"large number of political trials in 1990 and ... continued application of criminal proceedings to cases that are clearly of a political nature".

(resolution 45/176H, sixth preambular para.)

On the contrary, we do not believe that there was a large number of political trials in 1990. With that understanding, we have joined consensus on the resolution because of the importance the United States attaches to the need for continued assistance to the victims of apartheid.

Mr. SEIM (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

The Nordic countries are happy to note that it has been possible to build on the tradition established in December 1989 and September this year and adopt draft resolution A/45/L.38 by consensus. It was essential that international solidarity has again been demonstrated in support of the negotiating process now under way in South Africa.

We should like in that context to express our deep appreciation for the consultations undertaken by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari.

We regret, however, that it was not possible in all the Main Committees of the General Assembly to show the same aptness at adapting to the new situation. To a large extent, outdated language from previous years has been repeated. It is our hope that we shall be able next year to avoid sending conflicting signals from different bodies of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Seim, Norway)

The Nordic countries have always fully supported international measures against apartheid and efforts to create a new, democratic South Africa. Nationally, we have imposed one of the most comprehensive packages of sanctions against South Africa. We therefore regret that some of the texts do not reflect current realities sufficiently for us to have been in a position to support them. Some of the resolutions contain elements to which we have serious objections. I shall describe them briefly.

Several paragraphs in documents A/45/L.39, on concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid, and A/45/L.40, on military collaboration with South Africa, are at variance with our view on the need to maintain but not increase pressure against South Africa. That view is also the main thrust of the consensus resolution (A/45/L.38). The discrepancy applies in particular to the sixth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/45/L.39 and paragraphs 2 and 3 of draft resolution A/45/L.40.

In general we must reserve our position with regard to formulations that fail to take into account the division of competence between the General Assembly and the Security Council according to the Charter.

Furthermore, the seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs of document A/45/L.40 contain assumptions about increasing violations of the arms embargo that do not have a factual basis.

For those reasons, the Nordic countries abstained in the votes on those two draft resolutions.

As is well known, the Nordic countries deplore the continued practice of selectively singling out individual countries and groups of countries. That practice, most evident in draft resolution A/45/L.41 on relations between

(Mr. Seim, Norway)

South Africa and Israel, makes it all the more difficult to achieve international concerted action to abolish apartheid. Consequently, the Nordic countries voted against that draft text.

Finally, in relation to draft resolution A/45/L.42 on apartheid in sports, I should like to make the following remark. As we have stated in previous years, certain parts of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports would encroach upon constitutional freedoms and rights of Nordic citizens and private organizations. Hence, the Nordic countries are not parties to that Convention and consequently abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Austria holds the view that the eradication of apartheid constitutes one of the most important challenges of our age. Therefore, we wholeheartedly welcome the fact that, at last, a process of change is under way in South Africa. We view the resolutions adopted some minutes ago as means available to the international community in its endeavour to speed up the eradication of apartheid and to support the process of change.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

In that spirit, we attach particular importance to draft resolution A/45/L.38 and would stress the special weight it acquires by its adoption without a vote. We regard it as crucial that the unanimity of the international community, dating from the adoption last December of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, be maintained, for it is not a divisive stand but solidarity that is needed.

In that context, I want to express our sincere gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari. We have not failed to see and acknowledge that other draft resolutions have also been considerably and meaningfully changed, substituted and brought more or less up to date. As a result, the draft resolutions under this item differ in a positive manner from some draft resolutions from other main Committees, where references to apartheid have simply reiterated customary formulas, without taking into account developments in South Africa.

Owing to our total opposition to apartheid, and for the reasons stated, we find ourselves in agreement with the general thrust of the texts submitted under this item. We regret that a few provisions which Austria cannot support prevented us from voting in favour of some of the draft resolutions.

In our view, several paragraphs in draft resolutions A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 and A/45/L.40 and Corr.1 do not sufficiently reflect the international consensus on the need to maintain pressure against South Africa, but call, directly or indirectly, for increased sanctions. Furthermore, these texts, as well as operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/45/L.31, contain language that runs counter to our opinion that the General Assembly should respect the prerogatives of the Security Council.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

Austria's consistent stand against selectively singling out individual countries in resolutions is well known. Hence Austria voted against draft resolution A/45/L.41.

In the light of the considerations I have just spelt out, Austria abstained on draft resolutions A/45/L.39 and A/45/L.40. We also had to abstain on draft resolution A/45/L.42, since Austria will not accede to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, on legal grounds.

Austria voted for draft resolutions A/45/L.31 and A/45/L.33. Finally, my country was a co-sponsor of A/45/L.32.

The coming months will be decisive for the process of change in South Africa. I can assure you, Mr. President, that not only will Austria observe developments carefully, but we also stand ready to contribute with our modest means to help to support the process of change.

Ms. WICKES (Australia): Australia warmly welcomes the consensus adoption of the draft resolution on international efforts to eradicate apartheid (A/45/L.38), which maintains the international consensus against apartheid contained in the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was reaffirmed at our resumed session in September.

We welcome, too, the very sincere efforts that have been made this year significantly to reduce the name-calling in the texts before us, to consolidate the texts and to bring to them an element of greater relevance to the rapidly changing circumstances which we see unfolding in South Africa. None the less, we believe there was room for still further improvement in some of the texts.

This year, I am pleased to note, my delegation has continued its sponsorship of the draft resolution (A/45/L.32) on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and we have, as usual, endeavoured to be as forthcoming as possible in our

(Ms. Wickes, Australia)

support for others. As a result, we were able to support five of the eight draft resolutions - although our support should not be construed as agreement with all the elements contained in each.

My delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution (A/45/L.39) on concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid. While we support its broad thrust, our support should not be construed as a failure to recognize the most significant changes that have taken place in South Africa this year. These changes are recognized by the more moderate language used in the resolution.

We believe that sanctions continue to play an important role in the struggle to eliminate apartheid, but as the reform process in South Africa gathers pace - as we hope it will - Australia will be prepared to consider their phased relaxation.

Our vote in favour of the draft resolution should not be seen as reflecting agreement with all the elements it contains. We do not, for example, feel that the inclusion of language in the sixth preambular paragraph calling for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory Security Council sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is appropriate in present circumstances. Nor do we feel that the language of the eleventh preambular paragraph should preclude consideration now by the International Monetary Fund and other international financial bodies of the financial needs of post-apartheid South Africa, needs to which we referred in our statement in the debate on 6 December.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): As the voting this afternoon amply demonstrates, the abhorrence of States for the apartheid system and the demand for its eradication are universal. New Zealand, which was closely involved in the negotiation last December of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and, more recently, in discussions on draft resolutions concerning apartheid in September and through this month, is gratified

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

by the efforts made - successfully - to ensure that the spirit of the Declaration is reflected in many of the resolutions just adopted.

I join earlier speakers who paid a special compliment to Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria in this respect. Of the eight draft resolutions considered this afternoon, New Zealand supported four: draft resolutions A/45/L.31, A/45/L.32, A/45/L.33 and A/45/L.38. As a member of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, we joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/45/L.31.

With regard to the remaining draft resolutions, New Zealand regrets that, despite the many improvements made in the course of discussing the wording of drafts of draft resolutions A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 and A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, those dealing with concerted measures and military collaboration, it was unable to vote in favour of those texts. We are firmly of the view that existing sanctions should for the present be maintained, but New Zealand does not accept the view that they should be strengthened at this time. Therefore, calls for additional Security Council sanctions under Article VII of the Charter and unsubstantiated references to increased violations make it difficult for New Zealand to support those two draft resolutions.

With regard to draft resolution A/45/L.42, on apartheid in sports, there can be no misunderstanding of New Zealand's position on sporting contacts with South Africa, which is fully consistent with Commonwealth measures on sporting contacts. New Zealand was, however, unable to support this draft resolution because of the reference in paragraph 2 to a Convention to which New Zealand could not become a party. Signature of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports would be contrary to the obligations we have already assumed by our ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the provision it contains for freedom of movement to leave one's own country.

Mr. HAYES (Ireland): Ireland of course endorses the views expressed by the representative of Italy a moment ago in his statement on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

The General Assembly adopted one year ago its historic Declaration on apartheid. This unity of purpose demonstrated by the international community is continued today in the adoption by consensus of draft resolution A/45/L.38, entitled "International efforts to eradicate apartheid". This is a message from all of us to South Africa that the structures of apartheid must be dismantled without delay, and a united, non-racial and democratic society created in South Africa.

We appreciate particularly the role of Ambassador Gambari, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee, in the achievement of this result.

Ireland supported draft resolution A/45/L.33, which deals with the question of an oil embargo against South Africa. My Government has for many years favoured action by the Security Council to ensure an effective embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa.

Ireland supported draft resolution A/45/L.33, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. We strongly support the work of the Special Committee in its role of focusing attention on the situation in South Africa and of promoting international action against apartheid. I should add, of course, that our attitude to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee must be understood in the context of the general policy of my Government.

Ireland co-sponsored resolution A/45/L.32, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. My Government attaches great importance to the role of the Trust Fund.

(Mr. Hayes, Ireland)

Ireland was unable to support some of the draft resolutions that have just been adopted as they contain a number of formulations and ideas that are not consistent with my Government's approach.

We abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1, on concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid. We should have wished to support this resolution - the broad thrust of which we endorse - but are unable to agree with some of its elements and formulations. In particular, reference to action under Chapter VII and to new mandatory sanctions does not reflect the international consensus achieved in the Declaration or in draft resolution A/45/L.38, which we have just adopted, and, in our view, it is not helpful to progress in South Africa, given the current situation there.

My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/45/L.40 and Corr.1, on military collaboration with South Africa. Ireland fully supports the arms embargo, and we welcome this year's move away from the selective criticism of certain Member States. None the less, the draft contains elements that cause difficulties for my delegation. We feel, in this context, that it is important that the division of powers between the General Assembly and the Security Council be fully respected.

Ireland voted against draft resolution A/45/L.41, on relations between Israel and South Africa, in view of its its selective singling-out of one State Member of this Assembly for condemnation.

Ireland abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/45/L.42, on the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports. In that draft resolution the Assembly would, inter alia, call on States to ratify the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. This Convention, unfortunately, contains a number of provisions that are incompatible with Ireland's Constitution in respect of freedom of the individual, including freedom of travel.

Mr. KUKAN (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation wants to explain its votes on the resolutions relating to agenda item 34 - "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

First, I should like to state unequivocally that the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic retains its position that the system of apartheid must be eradicated in its entirety. This is in keeping with one of the top priorities of my country's present foreign policy - that is, the demand that human rights be observed in every place, in every part of the world. On that there can be no compromise.

However, we are glad to note that the Government of South Africa has taken some positive steps along the path of dismantling the inhuman system of apartheid. As we all know, it is always important, and at the same time difficult, to take the first step. We believe that the decision of the South African Government is meaningful and irreversible. We encourage that Government and the African National Congress to continue their talks.

We strongly feel that the peaceful way, the way of negotiations, is the correct one, the one that will lead to the goal of the eradication of apartheid. In our judgement, the resolutions that have just been adopted fail to reflect adequately the new political realities in South Africa. We think that in many cases they contain outdated slogans that, in the present situation, are losing their sense. We believe that, in addition to all kinds of negative pressure on the South African Government - oil and arms embargoes, and so on - it is possible in the present situation to exert positive pressure, which we think might be equally effective. That aspect of this new phenomenon is missing from some of these resolutions, and that is why my delegation could not vote in favour of all of them. In some cases we abstained, and in a particular case we had to cast a negative vote.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

We are very anxious that our actions should be understood correctly by our African friends, with whom we have a long tradition of close co-operation and cordial relations. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the current changes in the world, including South Africa, must be viewed pragmatically and that new and fresh approaches must be taken so that the results for which we are all striving may be achieved.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: Under the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", the General Assembly has pronounced itself through a number of resolutions. This year the Special Committee against Apartheid initiated an effort to consolidate a number of resolutions and revamp their contents, taking into account developments inside South Africa. Instead of 12 resolutions, we have just adopted eight and, what is most important, an omnibus resolution on international efforts to eradicate apartheid was adopted by consensus. In this way, the Assembly has managed to maintain the consensus which was initiated at the forty-fourth session and forged at a special session last year through the adoption by consensus of the Declaration on South Africa and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

Today the Assembly has reaffirmed the provisions of the Declaration and the need for their full and immediate implementation. Taking note of Pretoria's declared intention to abolish the apartheid system and some positive measures it has taken, the General Assembly calls on the authorities of South Africa to foster a climate fully conducive to negotiations and free political activity, particularly by taking a number of steps.

Pretoria should repeal all repressive legislation, including the provisions in the Internal Security Act that proscribe free political activity; it should end detentions without trial; it should allow the return of all political exiles without restriction; it should free all political prisoners and cancel the death penalties imposed on political prisoners; it should take impartial and effective measures to end recurring violence and curb the activities of vigilante groups and others who oppose the democratic transformation of the country. Furthermore, it should fully and speedily implement the agreements reached so far with the African National Congress (ANC).

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

The Assembly is supporting the efforts of the South African people to draft a new, democratic, non-racial constitution through broad-based negotiations, and encourages all parties to participate fully in future negotiations, taking into account the guidelines to the process of negotiations contained in the Declaration, which provide for agreement on the mechanics of drafting a constitution and on the role the international community can play in the process.

The Assembly considers that the process of change in South Africa is still at an early stage and further substantive progress needs to be made to promote the profound and irreversible changes called for in the Declaration. In this light, the responsibilities of the international community are grave indeed. All Governments and intergovernmental organizations have been requested to adhere strictly to the Programme of Action of the Declaration by maintaining measures aimed at applying pressure on the South African régime to eradicate apartheid.

The European Community's interpretation of the consensus resolution on international efforts to eradicate apartheid should not render meaningless the consensus on maintaining measures against South Africa until profound and irreversible changes take place inside South Africa, bearing in mind the objective of the Declaration, which is the complete and total eradication of apartheid.

The mandatory arms embargo should be fully observed and the Security Council should effectively monitor its strict implementation. Restrictive measures in the economic and financial sectors are to be maintained and, according to the large majority of the Assembly, restrictions on the import and export of a number of commodities should also be maintained, as well as the measures to induce transnational corporations and banks to cease equity investments and lending activities in South Africa.

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

The sports boycott is to continue and cultural and academic links are not to be entertained unless activities in these fields have the intent and effect of opposing apartheid in line with the United Nations policy on the matter.

Again, the majority of the members of the Assembly urge government and financial institutions, together with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, not to extend credit to apartheid South Africa unless there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change in the country.

The oil and arms embargoes are to be strictly implemented. Israel is again asked to terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields. States are called upon to ratify the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and to support the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports.

Assistance to the front-line States, to the victims of apartheid, and particularly to the previously banned organizations is to increase, especially in the case of returning exiles; and all political prisoners are to be released.

Finally, the Assembly has, without a dissenting vote, asked the Special Committee, with the support of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, to act as the focal point for the monitoring of developments in South Africa and actions of the international community, to disseminate its findings, consult with the parties concerned and assist the international community in forging a common stand on the common struggle to see apartheid eliminated as soon as possible.

The role of the Secretary-General to promote the peaceful end to apartheid and monitor the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration is recognized. The Special Committee also intends within its own responsibilities to complement the efforts of the Secretary-General and to take action as necessary - including

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

consultations inside and outside South Africa - towards the achievement of the common objectives.

I wish on behalf of the Special Committee to thank all the delegations that have supported the resolutions that have just been adopted. We are particularly grateful to Australia for supporting draft resolution A/45/L.39 and Corr.1 on concerted efforts to eradicate apartheid. We also wish to thank all the Member States that have assisted the Special Committee in carrying out its difficult task in the light of the present complex and volatile situation inside South Africa.

We ask the Nordic countries to consult more closely with the Special Committee so as to avoid the kind of abstentions we noticed in the case of one of the draft resolutions.

Finally, the kind words addressed to the Special Committee against Apartheid and to me and my country are also greatly appreciated.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1990, I now call upon the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. SIMELANE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): In the name of the oppressed people of South Africa, in the name of the people in the struggle to end apartheid, in the name of all those heroes and heroines who have sacrificed their lives in order to bring about peace, freedom and democracy in that troubled country, I wish on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa to express our deep appreciation to all the delegations that participated in the protracted negotiations that culminated in the drafting of the resolutions the Assembly has just adopted.

We participated in those negotations in good faith, with the aim of ensuring that the racist régime of South Africa received clear and unequivocal signals as to

(Mr. Simelane, ANC)

where the international community stood in its opposition to the evil system of apartheid. Indeed, this exercise was difficult and arduous, and agreement was possible only because of the flexibility shown by the participating delegations. We hope that the Pretoria authorities will expeditiously implement the provisions of these resolutions.

I may add that, in our view, the resolutions just adopted do not in any way supersede the very important Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which will remain the gauge against which we shall measure South Africa's compliance with the will of the international community.

(Mr. Simelane, ANC)

It is true that as many of the world's people approach the December holiday season, with its nostalgic memories and anticipation of the traditional white Christmas, the black cloth of mourning will be draped across our grieving land. The bells in our townships will toll only for the deaths of our innocent people; the green of the Christmas tree, symbolizing life, will not be found there, because our land continues to be soaked in the red blood of our martyrs. There will be no bells of joy in apartheid South Africa during these waning days of 1990, no singing and chanting "Joy to the world", no merriment or gift-giving amongst our people. They long only for the gift of freedom, withheld from them by an apartheid South African régime, in stark contrast to people who will enjoy a very merry and very white Christmas.

Ours will be a very black Christmas indeed. Our people will not be able to justify a holiday under circumstances in which we expect that they may even be shot dead during the holiday period. Instead, we will be mourning our loved ones. Rather, we will make manifest our respect for their memory by wearing black as we strike and demonstrate in peaceful protest against an unpeaceful apartheid régime which protects, and perhaps encourages, the right-wing elements in the security and police forces, who have the guns to kill, and who go so far as to share those guns with their township minions, who act out their "blame the victim" rationalizations by becoming surrogate killers for the State.

As the world approaches the year 1991, our people, who struggle for freedom in South Africa, are prepared to sacrifice more blood, as innocent victims of apartheid. They face, undaunted, more unrest perpetrated by the apartheid régime's divide-and-conquer manipulations. The régime seeks to gain, at the conference table, with a secret and still unarticulated agenda, at the expense of the blood of future martyrs. Their lives will be no more protected by the State than were the lives of those who have already fallen: we sustain our belief that suffering,

(Mr. Simelane, ANC)

grief and the senseless loss of parents, children, relatives and friends not only strengthens our resolve to obtain freedom, which is taken for granted by some of you, our colleagues, but also that, in obtaining freedom, our sacrifices may be redeemed, as many of your sacrifices have been redeemed in the histories of your countries.

We can therefore bear the pain of a bleak and black Christmas while we hope that those of you who will enjoy a happy holiday season will remember us, strengthen your resolve to continue supporting us, and commit yourselves to a level of generosity towards our cause in proportion to the material and spiritual disparity between your joyous season and our turbulent and joyless one.

Despite all, we move forward to the first year of the last decade of this century strengthened by our suffering, fortified by our grief, recommitted in the pools of our blood to the goal of freedom in 1991, in the hope that in the new South Africa the year-end holiday will be one of a new tradition shared by the whole citizenry of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

With the world's continued support and the continued support of this body, the year 1991 may very well find us or our successors sitting here among you, not as observers, not without a vote, but as full citizens of a new South Africa and as fully accredited members of this body. Surely there is no one among you who would not agree that freedom is not worth living for when it is also worth dying for, which we are obliged to do.

At this time, we look towards that better day when we shall together praise the strains of "Joy to the world" in freedom, for which we, as free men, women and children, struggled, with your help.

(Mr. Simelane, ANC)

As we approach the twenty-first century, we seek to contribute, not only to the establishment of a new South Africa but, as a part of this world body, to the objective of universal peace, brotherhood and justice in a century wherein humanity can take another step towards the full release of what is human in our being and towards the end of tyranny in our time and for all time.

In conclusion, may I say that if a century ahead is too distant a time to contemplate, surely next year, 1991, can be viewed by all of us here today as a year in which the church bells in South Africa will no longer toll for the victims of apartheid but will peal for the victory of those who have fallen and those who yet live, the victory of those whose sacrifices, in death and in life, have brought about the end of apartheid and the beginnings of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa which may yet become a beacon of hope for all those, throughout the world, who still yearn for peace, equality and justice.

The PRESIDENT: We have now concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 34.

AGENDA ITEM 117 (continued)

REVIEW OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL FUNCTIONING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/714)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/45/L.34/Rev.1)

(c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/45/875)

The PRESIDENT: May I remind representatives that the debate on agenda item 117 was concluded at the 67th plenary meeting, on 13 December.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.34/Rev.1. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained is contained in document A/45/875.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/45/L.34/Rev.1?

Draft resolution A/45/L.34/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 45/177).

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 117.

AGENDA ITEM 152 (continued)

CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFRICA

(a) NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TRANSMITTING THE REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL'S EXPERT GROUP ON AFRICAN COMMODITY PROBLEMS (A/45/581 and Add.1)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/45/L.20/Rev.1, A/45/21/Rev.1, A/45/L.22/Rev.1)

(c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/45/816)

The PRESIDENT: May I remind representatives that the debate on agenda item 152 was concluded at the 46th plenary meeting, on 21 November.

In connection with this item, the Assembly has before it three draft resolutions, issued as documents A/45/L.20/Rev.1, A/45/L.21/Rev.1 and A/45/L.22/Rev.1.

(The President)

I should like to point out that the texts of two of the draft resolutions should be corrected as follows:

In respect of operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/45/L.20/Rev.1, the words "the United Nations Development Programme" should be added after the words "including the Economic Commission for Africa", and the words "in the context of the report of the Secretary-General" should be added after the words "United Nations Children's Fund,".

(The President)

As regards draft resolution A/45/L.21/Rev.1, in the fourth preambular paragraph the last words "and its consequent report" should be deleted.

Those corrections will be incorporated in the final texts of the resolutions.

The Assembly will now take action on the three draft resolutions before it. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications contained in document A/45/816 applies mutatis mutandis to draft resolution A/45/L.21/Rev.1, as orally corrected.

The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.20/Rev.1, as orally corrected. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt it?

Draft resolution A/45/L.20/Rev.1, as orally corrected, was adopted (resolution 45/178A).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to draft resolution A/45/L.21/Rev.1, as orally corrected. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt this draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/45/L.21/Rev.1, as orally corrected, was adopted (resolution 45/178B).

The PRESIDENT: Lastly, the Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.22/Rev.1. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt it?

Draft resolution A/45/L.22/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 45/178C).

Mr. KATSIGAZI (Uganda): On behalf of the African Group, I should like to take this opportunity to thank all delegations that have been able to join the consensus on the following draft resolutions: A/45/L.20/Rev.1, on the preparatory arrangements for the session of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole in September 1991 for the final review and appraisal of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990; A/45/L.21/Rev.1, on the follow-up to the report of the Secretary-General's Expert Group on Africa's

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

Commodity Problems and to Africa's common position on that report; and A/45/L.22/Rev.1, on the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation.

It is our hope that the session of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole in September 1991 will not be another routine session. It should be a serious endeavour to review the implementation of the Programme of Action for 1986 to 1990 and to put in place concrete measures and policy recommendations in the interrelated areas of debt, commodities and resource flows designed to support Africa's efforts to ensure accelerated growth, transformation and development beyond 1991. It is therefore important for the consultations between now and April 1991 to ensure that the representation in the Ad Hoc Committee is at the highest possible level so as to create the necessary political impetus.

The African Group is looking forward to the Secretary-General's report to the Ad Hoc Committee including proposals for the follow-up action to the concrete recommendations contained in both the report of the Secretary-General's Expert Group on Africa's Commodity Problems and of Africa's Common Position on that report. For Africa to undertake the recommended horizontal and vertical diversification programmes and strategies at the national, subregional and regional levels will require both substantial resources and increased access to markets. It is our hope that the Ad Hoc Committee will consider adequate modalities and mechanisms for the mobilization and transfer of resources for the diversification process in Africa.

Finally, we look forward to the co-operation of all delegations to ensure a successful outcome of the review and appraisal, by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole, in September 1991, of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990.

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 152.

AGENDA ITEM 40

LAUNCHING OF GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

The PRESIDENT: With regard to item 40 representatives will recall that, at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1990, the Assembly decided to include this item in the agenda of the forty-fifth session.

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to defer consideration of this item and to include it in the provisional agenda of the forty-sixth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 40.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to make an announcement in regard to the programme of work for Friday, 21 December.

In the morning, the Assembly will take action on draft resolution V in paragraph 38 of the report of the Third Committee (A/45/764) on agenda item 108, "International action to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking"; and on draft resolution IV in paragraph 109 of part I of the report of the Third Committee (A/45/838) on agenda item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council". The Assembly will also consider the reports of the Second Committee.

In the afternoon, the Assembly will consider the reports of the Fifth Committee and will take up all other pending items and appointments.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.